1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

to be *mata kivikivi* (disagreeable). Consciousness of shame about the occurrence of gossip is the proper attitude to feel in the presence of white people.

Three native words cover phases of anger. A person who is generally disagreeable, rarely, if ever, pleasant to other people is *mata kivikivi*. Such a person is furious with children who approach his house to play and is always getting into arguments or quarrels with other people. The anger of such people is considered unreasonable and due to long-continued bad temper, quite different from the type of anger called *lili*, which is considered more justifiable. A man receives tacit approval if he is *lili* because his wife has committed adultery or because someone has taken nuts from his trees without permission. As long as he does not become too violent in punishing the wrongdoers, reason is on his side. These two angers are distinguished from general hot-headedness, from the anger of a man who flares up readily or quarrels without forethought. Such a person is said to be *manava poto* or *ngakau kino*. He is condemned for his anger because it gets himself and others too often into trouble.

Many words refer to those who show lack of respect for people or institutions. Thus a child who is bold or forward before his elders is *wakalakapeka;* one who arrogates to himself privileges that rightfully belong to an older person is also *wakalakapeka*. This word is distinguished from the words *witoki*, *winaki*, and *matamua*, which have nothing to do with respect due to age, but refer to any conduct that is bold or unbecoming. A child who asks favors from a white person is *witoki;* a village that wins a contest refers to the other two villages as *witoki* for having dared to compete with the winning village. A person who boldly uses the personal possessions of another is said to *wakamitamita*. Thus a young man who came into the office, picked up the resident agent's rifle and playfully pointed it at us was reproved by his elders in no uncertain terms for *wakamitamita*. On the other hand, the person who is bold with property that is more intimately connected with the personality of another, as one who lies on another's sleeping mat or wears another's clothes without permission, is *yeiuna wulu tutuina*. The person who generally interferes with another's property or business, causing trouble by making a nuisance of himself, is *ngutu wakauyu*.

Many words refer to persons who display unusual qualities about foods. A stingy person is a *tangata kakionge;* a person who flatters another with frequent presents of food is said to *yokoyoko;* a person who selfishly keeps to himself food that should be shared is *noinoi;* a person who is greedy for food is *kopu yae;* a person who is given to begging or wheedling food is *nanau;* a person who makes a point of eating at a household other than his own is *kai yau;* one who steals food is *toyeuyeu;* one who is generous at giving away food is *kaikai malie*.

One who acts outside the norm of what is considered intelligent behavior is considered stupid or silly. Thus the island family of deaf-mutes is said to be *vale* or *valetiko*, stupid in their behavior. This is distinguished from the foolish behavior of a person who should know better. One man on the island suffers from religious mania and takes every opportunity to deliver impassioned sermons. He is called *pupapupa*, meaning that he speaks and acts foolishly.

Shameful personal peculiarities are *luma:* a crippled person has a *luma;* a bald-headed man has a *luma* and consequently wears a hat day and night. The reaction to a peculiarity of this nature is one of ridicule, never one of sympathy.

The Pukapukans use freely in conversation such terms as *toku veia* (my enemy or my hated person), *toku mina* (my loved or favored one). Especially among children or adolescents one hears the shouted remark: "Ti, toku veia, ko koe" (You're the one I hate), often addressed by an older child to a younger child who has been teasing or making fun of his elder. To have strong dislikes for people is *tavi veia* (to make enemies); to have favorites, *tavi mina*. A person who is equably tempered, suffering not enemies or friends is spoken of as *e ye tavi veia* (one who does not make enemies), or *e ye wiliwili* (one who does not select people).

154 Kupenga was married to Te Anga. She committed adultery one day
837 and was spied on by the relatives of Te Anga, who came and complained to him. The heart of Te Anga was pierced. He was filled by jealousy. His jaws trembled, his feet stamped up and down. When Kupenga came crawling back to him at daybreak he seized her, tore apart her thighs, exposed her genitals. He tied her two arms to two house posts, stretched apart her legs and tied them to two sides of the house. No part of her remained covered. The news spread to the whole island. Nothing like that had happened before and the island moved up to look at Kupenga. Te Anga stood on guard before his wife, defying any man to come and untie her. Because of his strength and skill with the club the crowd of men were afraid. They cried out, beating their arms against their bodies, calling for a person to untie the woman. It was impossible.

The people of the island and her relatives were ashamed because of Kupenga. It was like any exposed object and the children were looking on this thing. At last another strong man crawled on the ground to Te Anga and beseeched him to soften his heart. By gentle words the heart of Te Anga was softened. He ordered the men to untie his wife. They did. So stiff were her muscles that she could not walk. Besides she was ashamed of her nakedness. She strangled herself by tying an anchor rope round her neck and pulling tight on the two ends. Kupenga died and the island was disgusted.

This account has in it several touches of Pukapukan psychology, particularly that emphasis on the shame felt by a woman when her genitals are exposed to the gaze of others. Exposure of the genitals is the equivalent of sexual intercourse, and there are many incidents in Polynesia where a woman striving to preserve her body from a pursuer gives up the struggle as hopeless when by some ruse or other she is tricked into displaying her genitals. The shame of Kupenga was great because she was exposed not only to the gaze of all the men of the island but to the children as well, who, like all Polynesian children, are allowed to participate in almost anything that interests the adults.
152 The point, however, which I wish to emphasize is that Te Anga's
154 outburst of aggression towards his wife, an outburst so great that he was strong enough to flout the feelings of the community
● 158 at large, must be considered as a very individual way of reacting to a conflict situation which those of other temperaments would pass over with a momentary annoyance. It is also typical of the extraverted behavior patterns of Pukapukan society that his reaction should take the form of sudden and violent action. There was no brooding, no inner dwelling on a felt conflict, merely a senseless outburst of violence that drained off all the anxiety.
154 As long as the tension was at its height, Te Anga would brook no